1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*wakatika*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another person's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

1; Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The westernmost section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*wakatau, wakamouine*), a young man or
613 woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he
884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join
[578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.
152 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept
626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.
558

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *wua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to
613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means
616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal
124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).
773

The origin of the *wua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 854 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given 853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The 854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first [857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

857 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

[152] Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki, winaki,* and *matamua,* which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yewuluwulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauyu*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko,* stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupupupa,* meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye wiliwili* (one who does not select people).

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

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105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 [152] ● 156 181 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

156 578

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 571 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tendencies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 578 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the traditional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

154 578 The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can dc justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It [156] is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts: